1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche



The warm feelings that link the natal coresidents of a household contrast sharply with the group's attitude toward outsiders. Commonly, latent hostility is expressed particularly toward the father's sister's husband, *kachá*, whose marriage deprives the natal unit of a member. *Kachá* is sometimes described as a potential traitor. As far as my data go, similar attitudes are not voiced toward other men who marry women of one's household.

Although the dictates of exogamy force the Araucanians to marry outside the natal household, they do not like to establish a wide range of affinal relationships. They tend to be fearful of strangers and to suspect them of being witches, so much so that boys used to be taught not to marry outsiders. When viewed in this light the customs of cross-cousin marriage and unilocal, patrilocal residence take on added significance. Under optimum conditions these practices require only two households for entrance into a series of marriage alliances. Thus, if a man brings home a wife from a certain outside household, his son secures a mate from the same group, since a woman and her brother's daughter belong to the same natal unit. In fact, the term *fuchi* (which applies to mother, mother's sister, and wife) may be said to connote woman of an affinal household. Nor should it be overlooked that sororate, sororal polygyny, and levirate all tend to maintain or strengthen marital ties that have already been established by two intermarrying groups.[14]

Latcham reached the conclusion that a rite called *konchotun* implied a system of matrimonial alliances between two families.[15] Others say only that *konchotun*, the central act of which called for the sacrifice and consumption of a sheep, was no more

[14] Although the analysis here proposed is based on information independently secured, it should be noted that Cooper (1946, p. 719) suggested a similar interpretation. He quoted statements to the effect that one native rationalized cross-cousin marriage on the basis that it prevented discord, and that an earlier writer stated that sororal polygyny was common " 'to avoid quarrels and jealousy.' "

[15] Latcham, 1924, p. 531.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche



than a declaration of friendship between two men, each of whom in turn provided a beast every other year.[16]

### THE OMAHA SYSTEM: AN EVOLUTIONARY HYPOTHESIS

At the beginning of this chapter attention was drawn to the need for a dynamic approach to the study of Mapuche kinship. The necessity for an evolutionary analysis, which attempts to trace changes of form through the course of time, is nowhere more strikingly evident than when one tries to determine the presence or absence of Omaha nomenclature and patrilineal clans.

Ever since Hallowell tentatively identified Araucanian kinship terminology as Omaha,[17] many anthropologists have wanted to know whether his postulate is correct.[18] Anyone who studies the terms published by him and compares them with Figure 2 will soon find that Mapuche nomenclature is unquestionably Omaha. The following traits, male speaking, which are regarded as typical or diagnostic,[19] occur: parallel cousins are classed with siblings, father's sister's children are equated with sister's children, mother's brother's son is termed mother's brother or "uncle," and mother's brother's daughter is called mother.

As far as these essential features go, the Araucanians conform to Omaha usage. Much uncertainty has arisen, however, in regard to another trait which is commonly but not invariably associated with the Omaha system. The trait in dispute is marriage of a man with his wife's brother's daughter. Hallowell cited J. M. Collío to the effect that such marriages occur among the Araucanians, yet Hallowell stated that he failed to find confirmation of this fact in the literature;[20] and Cooper also noted

[16] Augusta, 1916, I: 93; Moesbach, 1930, pp. 389-91; and Hoose, 1939, pp. 207-8.

[17] Hallowell, 1943.

[18] Hallowell's suggestion will be found to have been accepted by Cooper 1946, p. 724; and Murdock, 1949, p. 240.

[19] Lesser, 1929.

[20] Hallowell, 1943, p. 490.

10: Milgor E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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still want a small girl to have long hair." Older girls have it cut shoulder length or longer. To keep the hair from the face, an older girl, today, as formerly, takes a strand of yarn or a narrow band of cloth, passes it under the hair at the back, brings it forward either behind or in front of the ears, and then ties the ends in a knot on top of the head; or, as formerly, she twists the hair that is over the temples, ties the ends of the twists together and lets them hang down the back. Today, some girls wear barrettes to confine the hair and keep it out of their eyes. Schoolchildren were rarely infested with lice; teachers in all areas remarked about this. 302 [301] [515]

Beauty was recognized. When a man and his wife were complimented on their beautiful, dark-eyed children, the man replied, "They have inherited their beauty and eyes from my side—my mother had dark eyes; all my wife's sisters had green eyes." 832

Most girls seen were earrings made of flattened circular pieces of silver; a few boys also did. Both boys and girls wore one or several rings. A ring was either a copper or a silver band incised with a repeated design, or a flattened 20-centavo Chilean coin. Rings were worn on any finger. No one wore a necklace. It is not an old custom for girls to wear hair ornaments; but occasionally today at fiestas an adolescent girl has her hair so adorned. 301

An occasional boy in early adolescence showed interest in his personal appearance, but rarely wore ornaments, unless rings are so considered. A 12-year-old boy ran home from school the day the Chilean Government school examiner arrived; his clothes, he said, were not good enough for such an occasion. A 13-year-old boy leaned sullen and slouched against a school wall, complaining that the picture that had just been taken of him by surprise would disgrace him; that he wanted to dress up and have another one taken. Girls seemed less finicky about their appearance; none, however, was seen, at any time, carelessly or slovenly dressed or dirty. 56

### FRIENDSHIPS, LEADERSHIP, JOVIALITY

Intimate friendship between two boys or two girls was not institutional; an occasional boy, however, had a "chum"; so did a girl. "Those two boys [14 and 15 years of age] are always together; when anything is going on anywhere they go there together; they have been that way since they were little boys." Two 12-year-old boys asked to be photographed together: "We are friends; we have always been friends." 572

Games on school grounds were generally played together by children

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile



of the same age groups. During recess periods the same three or four older girls were usually seen sitting together chatting. Usually girls from a particular countryside have a feeling of closeness to each other, probably because they walk to and from school together; the same is true of boys. Lasting friendships are thus formed and extend through adult life.

Leadership among children does not seem to exist in any pronounced way. Oratory gives prestige in the choosing of a leader, even though it may not need to be exercised on the occasion for which the leader is chosen, such as a procession. (Oratory gives distinction to elders, also; something children undoubtedly know.) Quoting a teacher: "No particular child in school acts as a leader at all times. Any child, for instance, may suggest a game or the doing of something and others will respond 'Buenol' and off they will go to play or to do the thing."

Joviality and fun are part of the Araucanian child's life. Schoolchildren told their own and each other's nicknames with much laughter and teasing. A little girl brought an old-time silver necklace to school. Every little girl placed it around her own neck, and then one placed it around the teacher's neck, at which all clapped their hands, laughed, danced around, and made complimentary remarks. There was much joviality, too, between older girls who spent recess helping an herbalist do a washing. At the end they slapped each other with pieces of wet wash and laughed good-naturedly.

### THE SENSES OF THE CHILD

A child's eyesight is keen. So are its powers of observation. School children gave as points that they could see distinctly from the shore of the Pacific below Alepún, the Isla Mocha, Punta Quele, Punta Corral, and Puerto Saavedra (see fig. 1)—points that neither the field assistant, the interpreter, nor I could see even faintly. Quoting the interpreter, a non-Araucanian herbalist: "These Mapuche children have very keen sight. At great distances they can name the person whom they see working or walking there. I cannot see there so much as a speck, and I have excellent sight. Going along a path, they will trace the steps of tiny insects that have gone that way, also; I can hardly see them. When we look for anything outdoors, children find it immediately. Their sense of hearing is just so keen."

Red, blue, and green in bright shades are favorite colors of school children. Several little girls were disappointed in not finding these in a box of miscellaneous crayons: "We wanted to put nice colors on

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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302 could be better seen—it being a warm day she had already removed her shawl. She resented the request, said something about modesty, scolded, straightened her apron, put on her shawl and pinned it properly (the kapam was nearly completely covered by now!), shooed away the children, posed, and said, "Bueno!" One day in Alepúe area a man galloped along the Pacific beach on horseback to catch up with me to say that an airplane had come within five yards of the ground where he happened to be examining a fence; in fact, it was so close that he could see the man sitting in the cockpit—something he had not expected to happen in his lifetime. He was filled with surprise and excitement. His horse, with head high, snorted. The setting was perfect for a photograph. When asked to halt a moment to have his picture taken, he answered, "Nothing doing! Nothing doing! Not in this torn pants." (His pants at the knees showed four distinct layers of patches.) He swung his horse around, called once more with emphasis, "Not in this old pants!" and galloped away.

### FRIENDSHIPS

572 Sincere and lasting friendships existed. Close friends were usually relatives. "I have noticed that always two women who are particular friends are related," said a non-Araucanian; "the same is true of men." A 21-year-old man wanted his 24-year-old distant relative in a photograph with himself. "He is my best friend," he remarked. "I ask him for things sometimes, and he gives them to me; he seldom asks me for anything, for he is richer than I am. We also ask to use each other's things. He and I are not like brothers; we are best friends. Everybody has a special friend." It was noted, however, that an occasional man and woman did not have a very close friend.

Occasionally in former times two unmarried men, or two married men and their families, gave expression to their mutual friendship in a get-together known as konchotun; if the expression of friendship was one between two women or a woman and a man, it was called mechatun. (Cf. also Cooper, 1946, pp. 727, 743.) Essential characteristics of both konchotun and mechatun were sincere mutual respect and the presentation of a lamb or sheep by one friend to the other followed by eating together an ample meal—not the lamb or sheep received as a gift, but one supplied by the recipient.

An informant described a konchotun between two men as follows: "This is done only where deep, deep friendship exists. A man will bring a lamb or a sheep to his friend as a gift. The friend accepts the animal but slaughters one of his own lambs or sheep and prepares

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile



it. The families of the two men eat this one together. Months later 572
the man who feasted his friend slaughters one of his lambs or sheep and takes it and his family to his friend's ruka. Here he presents this friend with the slaughtered animal. His friend accepts the animal but slaughters one of his own sheep or lambs and with it feasts the man and the man's family. I remember my brother giving a konchotun for his friend about 10 years ago. A woman can treat a woman friend or a man whom she holds in high esteem in the same manner; or a man may treat in the same manner a woman whom he greatly respects. Always the families on both sides are included in the eating. All this is done with deep respect, and with no lewdness." The informant, ready to leave for home, slightly amused, said to me, "You bring me a gift tomorrow, and then I will make a mechatun for you. There has been no mechatun in this area for some years; it costs too much to give one." If a konchotun is performed these days it is nearly always an expression of friendship between two families or between a group of families in one area and a similar group from another area, rather than between two unmarried men, and always it is carried out at the nillatun.

### COURTESY, HOSPITALITY, HELPFULNESS

Courtesy is a characteristic of present-day Araucanians, and, accord- 576
ing to the oldest informants, it always has been. It is extended to members of the immediate and the extended families, to friends, neighbors, acquaintances, and strangers. Courtesies taught to children were observed among adults everywhere. To interrupt a speaker, for example, is bad manners. So is walking in front of anyone. "Only someone who has no intelligence will do either. Small children know enough not to do them." In some forms, courtesies must follow conventions. Two persons passing each other on foot some distance apart or on horseback call "Mari mari!" (hello) to each other: the younger person must do so first, if there is much difference in ages. When meeting any place, face to face, everyone shakes hands—men, women, and children. A mother will take the hand of the baby in her arms and present it to everyone. "Whatever else you forget," said the Araucanian who instructed me in making contacts, "do not forget to shake hands on every occasion with every Mapuche; that is all-important." The interpreter added, "That puts you on a level with the Mapuche—they feel equal to all other human beings, and they are sensitive about this equality."

The reception given to visitors is somewhat formalized, also. In 574
general, when a visitor approaches a ruka, someone will emerge and

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina



dealt with my children." A woman older than 100 years remembered that she once sent one of her children, a little boy, to a neighbor with a message which required an answer. He brought back an answer, but later she discovered that he had made it up himself—he had not gone to the neighbor. "I whipped him with a stick then for lying to me." Children lie today. 867

A child that stole was made to return the stolen object. This is done today. "But children usually do not steal; a small child does not know any better, and an older one knows enough not to do so." "A child so high [about 5 years old] that takes something most certainly is not considered to be a thief, but a boy whose voice is beginning to change or a grown-up man who steals is a thief. Girls and women did not steal; at least I have never heard of one that did." Nothing is done to a child that pilfers food: "That is really not important; he is probably hungry, and this is his home."

Intoxicating drinks were not given to children as beverages unless parents wished to discover the personality that was being developed by an adolescent son, or one a little older, in which case they might give him to excess an intoxicating drink known as chicha. A few families were known to have done so to a son who was only four years of age. If the boy, when completely drunk, grabbed a bottle of chicha, everyone present knew that in his mature years he would be a drunkard; if he lay down and slept, he would be a quiet man; if he grabbed a lasso, he would do well with animals; if he ran around and yelled, he would be an angry and jealous man; if he tried to fight, he would be a quarrelsome man. "I once saw such a boy trying to fight with a tree." Parents will be frightened at their son's conduct and worried at the thought of his future—"but they can do nothing about it." Many persons were invited to witness the performance. Each boy was tested separately. Girls were not so tested. 787 273

Young men in their twenties were known to have drunk to intoxication but only with the express permission of the father or, in his absence, the mother. "Some men asked permission when they were 30 years old. Today no one asks permission; today some begin to drink at 12." Young women did not drink intoxicating beverages.

### CHUMS, MODESTY, PUBERTY RITES

Chums were not institutional, but two girls of the same age group in a neighborhood were known to be special friends; sometimes they remained lifelong friends. "I had a girl as a friend. We were about 14 years old, I believe, when we got to be friends; we made fire together and played together like all girls do." 572

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche



sort of labor usually performed in this fashion. On work days there might be a better-than-ordinary meal and perhaps something special to drink, but there is no great consumption of food as in *mingaco* celebrations. Furthermore, the host in a *vuelta mano* arrangement works as hard as his partners. Like the small *mingaco* groups, however, partners in a *vuelta mano* arrangement are usually kin, males of the same patrilineage. Ceremonial kinsmen (*trafkin, misha,* or *koncho*) frequently engage in joint labor on a *vuelta mano* basis. Nevertheless, while kinship is generally an underlying feature of most interpersonal relationships in the reservation community, simply because of the composition of the group, one's *vuelta mano* partner is generally selected on the basis of friendship, the actual closeness of the kinship tie being of less importance. *Vuelta mano* arrangements are sometimes made between individuals from different reservations. In these instances, however, there is often an affinal kinship bond. Certainly long local residence is an important factor in establishing the relationship.

### Other Labor Arrangements

The practice of hiring labor is presumably most recent and is associated with mechanization, from all accounts. Labor is sometimes hired in the harvest season, when a larger work force is needed than the family can provide and when the family head is not able to engage in the work himself or does not wish to commit himself to assisting his field hands in *vuelta mano*. Labor is, however, only very rarely hired during the preparatory and planting periods. Cash wages are paid. This signifies immediately that only the most affluent Mapuche can afford to hire field hands. Furthermore, since these men are the ones best able to afford the expenses of *mingaco,* it may also signify a conscious break with tradition and/or a rupture in their relationships with the rest of the community – a difference based on emerging wealth-status considerations. Since the practice of hiring labor is quite rare, I was unable to observe many arrangements of this sort. However, in most of the cases of which I was aware, the individuals who hired field hands, rather than work their land under some other arrangement, seemed to be atypical members of the community in other respects as well.

When Mapuche do hire field hands these are usually Indian boys from the same reservation or at least from the locality. Chilean *tarreros* (migratory workers) are sometimes employed, but usually

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equipment, draft animals, and seeds, although any or all of these might be provided by the landlord, who then obtains a greater share of the harvest for himself commensurate to his investment.

The poor Mapuche landlord who arranges to work part of his land with a tenant farmer is one who has more land than he is able to farm by himself. Perhaps he lacks sufficient equipment, animals, and seed. Whatever the reason might be in specific instances, the tenant himself tends to be as well off as the landlord in regard to production capital; possibly even wealthier. However, the tenant is poor in land.

While there are renters and tenants on many reservations, their number is small. The limitation appears to be essentially cultural rather than economic. By this I mean that the limiting factors do not result from rational economic considerations of investment and production alone. Mapuche-Chilean hostility conditions the situation. There is felt to be risk involved in dealing with Chileans in such arrangements. There is the reluctance to surrender oneself in complete dependence on the outsider. It is for these reasons, I think, that tenancy and renting have in general been rejected as solutions by the Mapuche for the maintenance of their agrarian economy. Tenancy and renting land to Chileans are recognized as tying in with the whole question of *división*. The Mapuche who have not taken a firm stand on the matter of *división* also tend to equivocate on the merits of tenancy and renting. When reservations constitute relatively harmonious units, the feeling of keeping the community "pure" is strong among the membership.

### The *Mediero* or Sharecropping System

The practice of working land in half-shares must be viewed as a further effort in the direction of effecting an agricultural adjustment. The *mediero* system is an important economic mechanism which enables individuals to pool resources to their mutual advantage. While the system is based on friendship or at least trust, it does not rest on the traditional bonds of kinship and common residence as do most other productive arrangements we have discussed. It allows for greater flexibility in making economic decisions and allocating resources. It differs from the several forms of cooperative activities already mentioned in that it involves capital investment on a relatively long-term basis rather than mere pooling of labor for a special job and a limited period.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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567 an integrative factor among them as actual working relationships be-
613 tween their husbands. Consanguinity among in-married women does
62 not serve to regulate interpersonal relationships in the absence of
618 strong ties between their husbands, since they are under the authority of their respective spouses in most matters. The mutual interests of these women have to be community-based in order to be enduring and significant in terms of reservation membership.

613 An important consideration which might be made here, however,
562 is that among these women fear of the mutual practice of sorcery
754 is negligible. Without discussing the reasons for this, I make the flat statement that lineage "sisters" tend not to engage in sorcery against each other or against persons closely related to them: husbands, offspring, and so forth. This is not a female-associated characteristic as much as it is a lineage characteristic. The blanket statement could be made that *persons* of the same patrilineage do not engage in sorcery—or at least in certain forms of it—against each other. The point here is that women are notorious for their interest in witchcraft (no distinction being made between witchcraft and sorcery), and that in-married women are the ones most likely to practice sorcery against one another or against any other member of the residential kingroup or reservation community. This belief certainly makes for solidary relations among in-married women who are lineage sisters and who find themselves in the position of "co-wives" in a localized sublineage on *any* reservation.

613 If in-married women are actual sisters or close cousins, the bonds
562 of sentiment and moral obligation established during their childhood and adolescence will certainly condition their interpersonal relationships throughout married life. When they are merely lineage sisters, or are linked through even more tenuous bonds, the kinship tie might not be strong enough to condition significantly their relationship after marriage. For example, such women might seek out one another during the first years of their marriage and coresidence—because they have greater confidence in each other than in other members of their residential kingroup—but if they are not congenial or if their husbands are not friends, they will eventually develop other more important friendships and interests. Despite the possibility of a consanguineal tie forming the basis for integration of a number of in-
[562] married women, therefore, their group relationships are generally friendship-based, in the context of affineship and common residence,

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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and in the last analysis depend on the harmonious relationship among their respective spouses.

With the passage of time, the social profile of the community changes through deaths, births, marriages, emigrations, and so forth. New alignments emerge among the older women of the reservation who now share years of common experience in the affairs, secular and religious, of the residential group. It is during later life, also, that their children become ready for marriage and that in-married women in the role of "father's sister" are important links between their natal kingroup and that of their husband and children.

## SUBLINEATION

In this section we will be concerned with the development of sub-lineages since the inauguration of the reservation system and the effect of the growth of lineages on the solidarity and integration of the residential kingroup.

The prereservation *lofche* settlement was much smaller than present-day reservation settlements, and homogeneous rather than heterogeneous, judging from all reports—written and oral histories and registry records. The numerical significance of both the localized lineage and the lineage group has increased beyond anything known in colonial or early republican times, owing to the fact that the reservation system has curtailed population movement within Araucanía. The localized lineages have tended to expand to the limits allowed by reservation resources, their size being linked to factors of land area, land usage, technology, and general economic conditions. Emigration has served to limit reservation population growth.

There is nothing to indicate that the Mapuche had corporate lineages during most of the colonial and early republican period or that reckoning descent from a common ancestor was socially significant for more than a very small residential nucleus of most closely related kinsmen or at a greater than two- or three-generational depth. It is suggested that the fragmentation of residential groups, brought on by unsuccessful warfare, economic pressures, and internal dissension, is related to this shallowness. The enforcement of the reservation system of 1884 did not create a "patrilineal principle" among the Mapuche, yet certain aspects of the program promoted an awareness of unilineal succession greater than that which appears to have existed in prereservation days—and corporate, localized patrilineages developed. In short, it became expedient to be able to trace gene-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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The husband has little assistance to lend at this time, and may even be told to leave the house during parturition. If there are children present, they will be chased out of the house. Only if labor is very difficult will the husband be asked to assist, usually by pressing on his wife's abdomen to force the birth. It also happens that an older, more experienced relative might be called upon to do this. In any event, there is a tense atmosphere, especially during a difficult birth. The woman is the focus of attention and the delivery is surrounded by secrecy. The father's interest in both wife and child is heightened. The woman proves herself to the community and both she and her husband exude feelings of warmth, pride, and self-congratulation. To a large extent these are shared by other residents who visit the mother and view the child during the next few weeks. Gifts are invariably brought, and in being reciprocated establish informal bonds of friendship which might not have existed before the birth of the child.

The husband's major participation is in burying the afterbirth, a traditional obligation. He must scrape up all the residue and the blanket or sheepskin used in the accouchement, disposing of them some distance from the *ruka*. Methods of disposal vary. Where fear of witchcraft is especially strong, however, disposal is more guarded and elaborately conceived. The husband might take the afterbirth to a deserted and unfrequented spot in the woods, swamp, hilltop, or other out-of-the-way place to bury it along with the bedding and soiled garments. Sometimes the afterbirth is thrown into a stream and the garments washed and reused. Since this duty devolves upon the husband, it is primarily the extent to which he is concerned with witchcraft that seems to determine how the matter is disposed of. In describing their role on these occasions, some men maintain that they have really broken with tradition and no longer fear the machinations of sorcerers, but have to comply with traditional concepts of disposal of the afterbirth so as not to arouse too great anxiety among the more conservative members of their family and kingroup.

Soon after birth the parents name the child without ceremony. Boys ideally receive another name when they are about five years old. This is ceremonially bestowed, in a simple ritual called *lakutun*, since the name is bestowed by the paternal grandfather or someone who stands in his place—that is, another elder of the lineage. The naming ceremony involves a feast and drinking bout to which relatives and friends are invited. The naming day is celebrated annually.

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It may be defined rather with regard to family sponsorship through the exchange of marriage wealth and contingent supporting activities entailed in the good offices of close relatives. Arranged marriages continue to be the easiest means of obtaining a spouse. Under conditions of reservation living, which involve scarce land and material impoverishment, marriage is contracted *only* with family approval, unless the young couple is prepared to leave the reservation and shift for themselves in the towns and cities of Chile or on some rural estate.

A man looks outside his natal group for a sweetheart or wife. His attentions are most often met with favor and family approval where there are interfamilial links of friendship; and friendship is strongest when based on kinship. The closest kinship ties outside the exogamous patrilineage are between a man and the groups related through his mother or another female affine of his patrilineage—that is, groups related through in-married women of his residential kingroup. Courtship is important in obtaining both the favor of the girl and the approval of her family, but the range of selection is defined matrilaterally.

When traditional marriage ceremonies are economically feasible today, they are carried out in close approximation to the recorded practices of fifty or more years ago (cf. Moesbach, 1936:231–69). Secondary unions such as the sororate and widow inheritance have tended to diminish along with the practice of polygyny, but their frequency is by no means negligible, especially when considered in the structural terms which will be elaborated in Chapter 8.

As in the past, dramatized bride capture accompanies some marriages (see Cooper's discussion, 1946:720). This involves a mock battle which has been prearranged by some members of both families. Among the modern Mapuche it appears that bride capture is an embellishment on elopement, occurring as part of preliminary marriage steps between proud and important families who are desirous of additional fanfare. Its occurrence is rare.

The following account is offered as a generalized description of the way in which a first marriage is contracted today among the Mapuche. It will be seen that marriage is essentially a family matter in the first instance, and a lineage matter in its broader aspects.

Marriage might be initiated by elopement, followed by wedding arrangements and a formal ceremony, or arrangement might follow a courtship which develops smoothly into marriage without the drama of elopement. Marriage may be further solemnized by Catho-